

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 036713

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS, UN

SUBJECT: KOREAN QUESTION AT THE UN: CONSULTATIONS WITH ROK

1. AMBASSADOR IS AUTHORIZED TO BEGIN CONSULTATIONS WITH
FONMIN PAK ON OUR APPROACH TO KOREAN QUESTION AT THE UN.
THERE FOLLOWS GUIDANCE RE MAJOR AREAS OF CONSULTATION.

2. INITIAL APPROACH: UHILE WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE TO UNGA
DEBATE IN TERMS OF OUR OWN INTEREST, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT
IT NOT POSSIBLE TO BLOCK DEBATE ON KOREAN QUESTION IF OTHER
SIDE WISHES. IT IS OUR INITIAL READING THAT NORTH KOREA
IN FACT DOES INTEND TO FORCE A DEBATE ON KOREAN QUESTION
AGAIN THIS YEAR.

3. IN THIS SITUATION IT IS USG VIEW THAT WE AND ROKG SHOULD
BEGIN EARLY CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR CLOSE FRIENDS TO DE-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 036713

VELOP TACTICS FOR HANDLING WHAT WE SEE AS INEVITABLE DE-

BATE AGAIN THIS YEAR. AT PRESENT, WE BELIEVE THERE NO
LIKELIHOOD THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO SECURE DEFEAT OF
NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION. AT SAME TIME GIVEN SUFFICIENT
TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY ON OUR PART, WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE
TO SECURE PASSAGE OF OUR OWN RESOLUTION. THIS WOULD,
HOWEVER, REQUIRE MAJOR EFFORT BY USG, ROKG AND OUR OTHER
FRIENDS.

4. WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED BY PRESIDENT PARK'S
APPARENT DIRECTIVE THAT NO RESOLUTION ON KOREA BE
SUBMITTED UNLESS ROKG SURE IT WILL BE ADOPTED. AT THIS
EARLY STAGE WE CANNOT PREDICT WHAT MEASURES WE MIGHT
HAVE TO TAKE TO ASSURE PASSAGE OF OUR RESOLUTION OR WHAT
OUR FINAL POSITION MIGHT BE. HOWEVER, REFUSAL TO INTRO-
DUCE RESOLUTION WOULD CONCEDE FIGHT TO NORTH KOREA AND
ITS FRIENDS AND ASSURE MAJOR DEFEAT IN UN FOR ROKG AND
U.S. CONSEQUENCES OF THIS WOULD IN OUR VIEW BE MORE
SIGNIFICANT TO ROKG'S INTERNATIONAL STANDING THAN TO
U.S.G. YOU SHOULD ALSO CAUTION PAK THAT INFORMAL IN-
DICATIONS TO OTHERS THAT ROKG HAS DECIDED NOT TO HAVE
FRIENDLY RESOLUTION TABLED (BONN 2401) ARE EXTREMELY
UNHELPFUL AND CAN ONLY WEAKEN OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE
BROAD SUPPORT.

5. IN THIS SITUATION, WE BELIEVE THAT BEST INITIAL
COURSE OF ACTION IS TO MOVE TO EARLY CONSULTATIONS WITH
CORE GROUP FOLLOWED BY BROADER CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHERS.
WITH CORE GROUP WE WOULD, FOR OUR PART, INDICATE OUR
READINESS TO CONSIDER TACTICAL INITIATIVES WHICH WOULD
IMPROVE OUR POSITION. WE WOULD NOT AT THIS POINT WISH
TO CONSIDER ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN OUR OVERALL POLICY
WITH REGARD TO KOREAN QUESTION BUT WOULD BE READY TO
ENGAGE IN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON TACTICAL MEANS TO IMPROVE
OUR POSITION. WE ARE ALSO READY TO MOVE TO ESTABLISH
DIALOGUE BEYOND CORE GROUP WITH OTHERS WHO SUPPORTED
OUR POSITION LAST YEAR INCLUDING ASEANS, SWEDES AND
OTHERS. WE BELIEVE THIS SHOULD, HOWEVER, FOLLOW GENERAL
AGREEMENT WITHIN CORE GROUP ON HOW TO APPROACH KOREAN
QUESTION INITIALLY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 036713

6. EARLY CORE GROUP MEETING: IF ROKG AGREES WE WOULD
RECOMMEND THAT IT TAKE INITIATIVE IN CONVENING EARLY
CORE GROUP MEETING IN NEW YORK. WE WOULD SEE PURPOSE
OF THIS MEETING TO BE INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY UNGA
SITUATION AS WELL AS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON POSSIBLE
OPTIONS OPEN TO US IN APPROACHING KOREAN QUESTION THIS
YEAR. WE WOULD NOT SEE THIS MEETING AS FORUM FOR
FINAL DECISIONS BUT RATHER AS BEGINNING OF PROCESS OF

ENLISTING SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF A COMMON UNGA POSITION.

7. IN ADDITION TO USUN OFFICERS, WE WOULD ENVISION
PARTICIPATION OF DEPTOFFS DIRECTLY CONCERNED(PROBABLY
BAKER, KRIEBEL AND O'DONOHUE). QUESTION OF WHETHER
REPS FROM OTHER CAPITALS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IS MATTER
FOR EACH GOVERNMENT TO DETERMINE BUT WE SEE UTILITY IN
KEEPING MEETING AS LOW KEY AS POSSIBLE TO AVOID IN-

ADVERTENT AFFRONT TO ANY GOVERNMENTS NOT INCLUDED AND
TO PREVENT INFLATED EXPECTATIONS AS TO WHAT MEETING
CAN ACCOMPLISH.

8. AS TO PARTICIPATION WE WOULD DEFER TO VIEWS OF ROKG
AND OTHERS BUT BELIEVE MEETING SHOULD BE FAIRLY SMALL
ONE INVOLVING THOSE COUNTRIES WHO HAVE SHOWN CONTINUING
INTEREST IN KOREAN QUESTION SUCH AS U.K., CANADA,
JAPAN, NEW ZEALAND AND NETHERLANDS, AND PERHAPS COSTA
RICA. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD SEE SOME ADVANTAGE IN IN-
FORMALLY SOUNDING OUT FRENCH, AUSTRALIANS AND GERMANS
AS TO WHETHER THEY WOULD WISH TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY
IN CORE GROUP.

9. UNC FUTURE; AT THIS POINT WE DO NOT WISH TO ENGAGE
IN SPECULATIVE EXCHANGES ON QUESTION OF UN COMMAND
TERMINATION. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE BENEFITS IN UN CON-
TEXT OF UN COMMAND TERMINATION, WE MUST CONTINUE TO
ASSESS SERIOUSLY RISK TO ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. IF PAK
SURFACES QUESTION OF SEPARATING UNC AND ESTABLISHING
JOINT US/ROK COMMAND, YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE WOULD,
OF COURSE, BE PREPARED TO STUDY ANY CONCRETE PROPO AL
ROK MIGHT HAVE BUT OUR INITIAL VIEW WOULD BE THAT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 036713

THERE LITTLE ADVANTAGE TO SUCH A CHANGE.

10. POSSIBLE ROK INITIATIVE; AT THIS POINT WE SEE
ONE SPECIFIC ACTION WHICH ROKG MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER
TO IMPROVE ITS POSITION IN UN CONTEXT. IN DECEMBER
THEN FOREIGN MINISTER KIM DONG JO HAD DISCUSSED WITH
US POSSIBILITY OF PROPOSAL FOR SOUTH-NORTH FONMIN
MEETING. WE SEE UTILITY IN SUCH A PROPOSAL.

11. AS DISCUSSED IN DECEMBER IT WAS ENVISIONED THAT
THE ROKG FONMIN WOULD TAKE INITIATIVE PUBLICLY IN
ANNOUNCING THAT US/ROK JOINT OFFER TO MEET WITH OTHER
SIDE TO DISCUSS CONTINUATION OF ARMISTICE AND OTHER
MEASURES TO EASE TENSIONS REMAINS OPEN, DESPITE PAS-
SAGE OF JANUARY 1 DATE WE HAD PROPOSED ON CONDITIONAL

UN COMMAND TERMINATION. FONMIN COULD ALSO POINT TO NEAR UNANIMOUS DESIRE TO UNGA MEMBERS THAT SOUTH-NORTH DIALOGUE BE RESUMED AND IN THAT CONTEXT PROPOSING A MEETING BETWEEN ROK AND NORTH KOREA FONMIN TO DISCUSS MEANS TO RESUME DIALOGUE.

12. WE BELIEVE SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD STRENGTHEN ROKG'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE; HELP PLACE PYONGYANG ON THE DEFENSIVE AND BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY WHATEVER THE EVENTUAL COURSE OF ACTION WE ADOPTED IN HANDLING THE KOREAN QUESTION. WE, FOR OUR PART, WOULD OF COURSE GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO THE FONMIN INITIATIVE.

13. IF ROKG BELIEVES THERE IS UTILITY IN SUCH AN INITIATIVE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO USE EARLY CORE GROUP MEETING TO INFORM OUR CLOSE ALLIES OF ROKG PLANS WITH ANNOUNCEMENT FOLLOWING VERY CLOSELY AFTER.

14. NON-ALIGNED GROUP COORDINATING COMMITTEE (NAGCC): WE UNDERSTAND NAGCC HAS AGREED TO RECOMMEND KOREA QUESTION BE PLACED ON PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR NAG AUGUST SUMMIT IN COLOMBO UNDER "COLONIAL SECTION". WE ARE IN PROCESS PREPARING CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION TO CAPITALS OF STATES REPRESENTED ON 17 MEMBER NAG COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO EMPHASIZE OUR CONCERN OVER THIS ISSUE AND MANNER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 036713

IN WHICH NAG ADDRESSES IT. (SEPTTEL CONTAINS TEXT OUR PROPOSED INSTRUCTION WHICH YOU MAY DRAW ON WITH FONMIN PAK.)

15. ROKG MAY WISH TO DO LIKEWISE WITH STATES REPRESENTED ON NAGCC WITH WHICH IT HAS GOOD RELATIONS, EMPHASIZING INAPPROPRIATENESS OF NAG TAKING POSITION WITHOUT REGARD TO VIEWS AND INTERESTS OF THE ROK. IN ADDITION WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO USE CORE GROUP MEETING TO ASK FOR SUPPORT OUR OTHER ALLIES ON THIS ISSUE.

16. FOR USUN: WE WISH TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH ROKG BEFORE ENGAGING IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER ALLIES. HOWEVER, MISSION, IF ASKED, MAY ASSURE CORE GROUP MEMBERS THAT WE WILL BE PROCEEDING PROMPTLY TO DISCUSSIONS WITH ROKG UPON FONMIN PAK'S RETURN AND THAT WE WOULD EXPECT CORE GROUP MEETING IN LATE FEBRUARY OR EARLY MARCH.

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